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LINCOLN NIGHT

MIDDLESEX CLUB

BOSTON

February 12

1923

ADDRESSES

BY

HON. SAMUEL ROY McKELVIE

REV. MAXWELL SAVAGE

MAJ. GEN. ANDRÉ BREWSTER, U. S. A.

*The Middlesex Club, True to the Faith of Washington,
Holds fast the Principles of Lincoln, Grant, and Roosevelt*

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1923

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1922 - 1923

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BY

HON. SAMUEL ROY McKELVIE,
REV. MAXWELL SAVAGE,
AND MAJ. GEN. ANDRÉ BREWSTER

BEFORE THE MIDDLESEX CLUB, "LINCOLN NIGHT," AT
HOTEL SOMERSET, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
MONDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 12, 1923

LOUIS A. COOLIDGE, *President*
SAMUEL L. POWERS, *Toastmaster*

TOASTMASTER POWERS. *Gentlemen, and guests of the
Middlesex Club:*

I regret as you do the absence of our president to-day, who is detained in Washington by reason of illness. I understand that his illness is not of a serious nature, and that he hopes to be back in Boston within a few days. I am going to ask you all to rise and drink to the speedy recovery of our distinguished president. [The members and guests rise and drink the toast,—but in water.]

TOASTMASTER POWERS. I think you will agree with me, gentlemen, that we could have made no greater sacrifice to Louis than to have drunk what we have. [Laughter.] I never expected that this job would ever come back to me again. I had it I think for thirteen years, when it descended by right of inheritance to Mr. Coolidge. I don't, however, very often get into the limelight these days. I never get into the public limelight unless some misfortune happens to someone else. [Laughter.] I play on the second team, and when someone is injured on the first team I get called in from the side lines. [Laughter.] That is the situation to-night.

I remember the old days of this Club when I first joined it, and it seems to me that the very men that belonged to it then are with us to-night. And what is best of all, you don't grow old. I have an idea that the adoption of a recent amendment to the Constitution [cries of "Hear! Hear!"] is prolonging your lives. [Laughter.] You remember that old skit that Charlie Hoyt had in his play when one actor asked another actor on the stage whether married men live longer than single men, and he replied: "No, but it seems longer." [Laughter.]

Now I don't doubt life may seem longer to you by reason of the discipline that you have now been placed under. I want to assure all you members of the Middlesex Club that you will get used to it after a time and you will be far happier than ever before. I speak from experience. [Laughter.]

We have here at the head table to-night a very distinguished galaxy of distinguished men. I noticed at one of these dinners not long since that Mr. Coolidge took occasion to introduce them to you, telling you who they were. It is enough, perhaps, that I say to you that we have with us to-night all the important State officers of the Commonwealth. Of course the Governor is not here, nor the Lieutenant-Governor [laughter], but they are mere figureheads at most. The real active working force of the Commonwealth honors the head table to-night. We have here the new Attorney-General, and the old Attorney-General. I asked "General" Allen to-night if he was quite sure that his authority had ceased. [Laughter.] He assured me that he could not do us any harm, and that we are absolutely safe, even in his presence. [Laughter.] As to the new Attorney-General, we have not tried him out yet, but I imagine that he is a safer man than the old one. [Prolonged laughter and applause.]

Then we have with us the Treasurer and Receiver General, whatever that may mean, of the Commonwealth. I don't know whether he is the man who collects the taxes or not. If he is collecting the taxes, he is doing a big job, because he is collecting more than we are able to pay. [Laughter.] We also have the Secretary of State. I saw him the other night at the Clover Club. He made a good speech, but I could not see any reason why the Secretary of State should have to make speeches for the Governor. He made an excellent speech there, and was intro-

duced well, I will not say how he was introduced. I think he was introduced as the King of Somerville, or something of that kind.

To-night we have upon the list, as you have noticed, but two speakers. I am going to reserve the right after we have heard those two speakers, if we are not satisfied with the way they have spoken and what they have said, to call upon others, possibly from the floor, so that you will have whatever speaking you want. [Laughter.]

I remember in the old days we used to try to adjourn this Club at ten o'clock, and in order that there might be a reunion outside [laughter], usually on the ground floor. It looks, however, as though we would get through to-night before ten o'clock, but I doubt if there is any reunion.

The first speaker on the program comes from that great Western country beyond the Mississippi which has been settled more or less by people from New England, has been developed more or less by capital from the East. When I met the Governor from Nebraska, I was a little surprised. I had expected to see a man about seventy years old, or more, with rather long whiskers [laughter], turning gray, and representing some of the earlier statesmen that I had met from his State. Instead of that, this young man who does not look over twenty-seven years of age [laughter], who had served his State with conspicuous ability during two terms, has now retired preparatory to going to the Senate if he yields to the wishes of the people of Nebraska [laughter], and he looks young. I want to say to the Governor that a man of his age cannot get beyond the Common Council in Massachusetts. [Laughter.] Some of the oldest men whom you see before you to-night have not got started yet. But I want to say to the Governor that we are glad to see him in Boston. He tells me that he is not a politician, but that he is a farmer. Well, I have always been a farmer, I have a farm to-day in New Hampshire, and I have always wished that I had lived on that farm instead of coming down here and wasting my time in Massachusetts. [Laughter.] But, to be a farmer in Massachusetts and to be a Governor is something that we have never heard of. I think our treasurer here is a farmer, and some say he is going to be the governor. But he will be the first farmer who ever has been governor in Massachusetts. [Laughter.]

We are all pleased to have the Governor here to-night. I have not the slightest idea of what he is going to talk on, outside of talking on Lincoln. He comes from the West where Lincoln was born, and where he was reared in that great State of Illinois. I once heard Uncle Joe Cannon say that when he went to Illinois it was still a territory. States grow fast. Think of the State of Nebraska, a tremendous State, almost an empire in itself, with a great population, and a State that sooner or later will be one of commanding influence in the country. And so I want to say to you, Governor, that you are to-night in the home of your friends, and if you ever get tired of Nebraska we will give you a farm in Massachusetts, if you will only come and live with us. [Laughter.] Treasurer Jackson says he is prepared to give up his farm. I imagine that he is not getting the income out of it that he expected, or else the income is so large that it makes his taxes unwieldy.

I remember a few years ago when Mr. William M. Evarts established a stock farm up in Windsor, Vermont, near where I was born, and after he had run it a few years he found the income would hardly keep pace with the outgo. He was serving a supper to some of his New York friends and he served milk and champagne. And he said: "Ladies and gentlemen, take your choice, they cost me just the same." [Laughter.]

I take pleasure now in presenting to you Governor—I shall not put any "ex" on it—Governor McKelvie of Nebraska. [Applause.]

HONORABLE SAMUEL ROY MCKELVIE

Mr. Toastmaster, Members of the Middlesex Club, Fellow Republicans:

As your toastmaster was proceeding with his remarks bearing upon his observations of myself, I was reminded of one of the first experiences I had after I was elected Governor of Nebraska. The second day after the election I left the State in order that the faithful might have time to get themselves together and decide on the places that they would prefer. [Laughter.] And I stopped first at Chicago. I went there to the Club where I was accustomed to stop. It was on the premature celebration of the Armistice. I met there my old friend, Senator Sam Aronel, and

he was even more pleased over my achievement than I was myself. And he was introducing me to all his friends at the Club.

In the course of the afternoon we saw a man there who Sam explained to me was Bill Simpson. He said, "Bill has an only daughter. She is married and her husband is in France and Bill has been saying that no sooner will the whistle begin to blow than he will stage an old-fashioned celebration." And I guess he had done it. That evening I came in and found him there somewhat unsteady on his feet, and Sam joined me and said, "I want you to meet Bill." I said I would be happy to and he called him, saying, "Bill, this is Sam McKelvie, just been elected Governor of Nebraska." Bill said, "What?" Sam said, "This is Sam McKelvie, just elected Governor of Nebraska." Bill said, "Well, I may be drunk, but I am not that damned drunk." [Loud laughter.] And if I could see Bill to-day I would have to remind him that after these four years I am sure that he is not alone in the determination.

I heard a definition of an after-dinner speaker the other day. An after-dinner speaker is one who is willing to sacrifice you for his country. [Laughter.] I hope not to do that this evening, for I do feel that I am among friends. I feel at home in Boston, though it is rather a far cry from here to the Middle West. When we think of Boston and of Massachusetts, we think of the Pilgrims. I regret that I cannot trace my ancestry to that noble lineage, but I feel that I am the descendant of Pilgrims nevertheless. The visions, the ideals, the hopes, the aspirations of the Pilgrims were those of the pioneer. It was this that gave them courage to undertake the hardships of settling in this new land, and so it was of the pioneers who followed the star of the empire west, across the Alleghenies and ever westward until they came to the broad and fertile prairies of Nebraska. They were Pilgrims, too, and the imprint of the hand of the Pilgrims marked their achievements no less than do the acts and deeds of the Pilgrims who wended their way westward from Leyden. So, in that sentiment we feel a bond of union. We feel that there is no place for sectionalism in this country. We feel the common responsibilities of citizenship. We pledge ourselves alike in enduring faith to the course which was marked out by our fathers.

As we assemble this evening we come together to worship at the shrine of the memory of the greatest American, and to reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of the political party of which he was the first distinguished leader. In doing this we must of necessity recognize the profound principles of Americanism. Boston is recognized as the Cradle of Liberty, and the Middlesex Club is recognized for its traditional Americanism. And if you will permit me, I desire to refer to some notes that I have made,—not that I am afraid of being misquoted, for I think I should profit by that, perhaps, but that I am rather hard up for terminal facilities; and I was advised by Mr. Louis Coolidge before I came of the time that I should occupy upon this program, and so also I recognize the distinguished gentlemen and able orators who are to follow me.

I believe this to be true that, as those of each succeeding generation are farther removed from the guiding events that surrounded our early American history, there is a growing misunderstanding of the principles that underlie the Republic. This prompts me to recall the simple truths that surrounded the life of Abraham Lincoln. As I proceed to this pleasant duty, I must demur against being regarded as an idealist though promptly admitting that I am a profound believer in ideals. The difference between the two, as I see it, is that the one would progress by principles that are proven, while the other is the advocate of untried theories.

It would be futile for me to attempt adequately to eulogize the acts and deeds of him who served the nation in the hour of its only serious internal crisis. This has been done so oft and well by those of readier expression than I, that the simple truths regarding his life are upon the lips of children. The place of his lowly birth, the noble mother who bore him, the struggles of his childhood, the meager education that he obtained, the toilsome labor that marked his youth and early manhood, his determination to surmount obstacles, his striking personality, his wisdom as an advocate and his ability in debate, his readiness of wit and appreciation of humor, his simplicity of character and of speech, his courage to meet the most difficult of situations, his charity toward others, including even those who opposed him, his tenderness of heart for those in trouble, his unmeasured service to the

nation, his prophetic vision, his adherence to the Constitution, and his belief in Almighty God, these and many more were the qualities that endeared him to the nation and wrote his name highest upon the scroll of fame.

I have a love for the memory of Abraham Lincoln that is kin to that of my Maker. I regard him as the Ideal American, but I would not place a construction upon the works of his life that would be intended merely to prove a point in which I believe. My purpose in discussing the things for which Lincoln stood is to apply them to some of the problems that are pressing for solution now, for I believe that he more nearly than anyone else in the nation's history divined the principles of true Americanism, not only to advocate them but to give them practical expression.

The first American ideal is a belief in Almighty God. This is the spirit that encouraged the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* to undertake their perilous voyage upon an uncertain sea. Under His guidance these seekers after the Truth were brought securely into port, and they sowed here the seeds from which this Republic sprung. Since then there has run all through our history like a golden thread a deeply religious vein. Nor has the nation ever had a great leader who was not inspired by this sublime faith.

That the immortal Lincoln was guided in his progress by Christian ideals is abundantly proven. In asserting his belief that God created man to be a free agent, he said: "Freedom is the natural condition of the human race in which the Almighty intended man to live. Those who fight the purpose of the Almighty will not succeed. They always have been, they always will be, beaten."

During the period of the nation's greatest internal peril it would seem that the leadership of Lincoln was inspired. To the question of what would happen if, in the first encounter between the steel armoured vessels, the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, the latter should emerge victorious, Lincoln promptly replied: "I do not fear, for this is God's fight and He will win it in His own good time. He will take care that our enemies do not push us too far." Such a sublime faith! Can you not believe with me that this is the force that guided him safely through all of those perilous days of the Civil War?

In his charity of spirit and loving kindness, it appears that Lincoln was supremely endowed. Note the final words in his inaugural message: "I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." Finally, when the war was over and it became a question of what his attitude would be towards the people of the South, he said: "I shall treat them as though they had not been away."

The nation needs a revival of that glorious spirit to-day. We are being consumed by selfishness. We do not understand our fellows, for we will not permit the governing spirit of Him "Who doeth all things well" to enter the councils of our affairs. The guiding star of the nation's destiny always has been, always will be, the precepts that were given from the Mount. Until we understand those principles to apply them, we shall be plagued by the twin evils of hate and greed.

Next to Divine Guidance as an American ideal is a belief in the Constitution of the United States. I shall always hold that that immortal document was inspired of God. When the Republic was born, it was His hand stretched across the labors of the founding fathers that brought the event to a successful issue. May I not remind you that, after the Constitutional Convention had been in session for five weeks and the representatives assembled there, patriotic and well-meaning as they were, had been unable to meet upon a common ground, Benjamin Franklin arose and addressed the chair with these words:

"I have lived, Sir, a long time and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the sacred writings, that 'except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it'."

Upon this belief, they repaired to their labors and the greatest human document of all history was born. In closing his address to the Convention, George Washington said: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

Hamilton was the greatest advocate of the Constitution, Marshall the ablest interpreter of it, but it remained for Abraham Lincoln to give it expression and application in a time when a departure from it would have resulted in the dissolution of the Union. The nation has never had a firmer believer in the Constitution, nor a closer adherent of it, than Abraham Lincoln. This and the Declaration of Independence afforded the basis of his entire political training and belief. Mark these his words: "I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

When Lincoln was elected to the presidency he was relatively little known to the nation. To all he was "the rail-splitter". By some he was regarded as the teller of uncouth stories. He had served in Congress, and his debates with Douglas had brought him some acquaintance beyond the borders of his State. The nation was upon the brink of civil war and consternation was abroad in the land. What type of man was this, then, who had been chosen to pilot the Ship of State upon such an angry sea? What would be his policy?

Conditions had become so intense, incident to the question of slavery, that a peace conference was called in Washington. Delegate representatives from the North and the South assembled at this conference. After many months of bitter debate, the members of the conference had made no progress. Finally, Mr. Lincoln arrived in Washington, prior to assuming the duties of the Presidency, and met the members of the conference. The delegates met Mr. Lincoln with mingled misgivings. So much depended upon the course he would follow as President! They were not kept waiting for the truth. Governor Rives of Virginia addressed this statement to him: "The clouds that hang over the Union are very dark. Everything now depends on you." In response the great Lincoln went directly to the heart of the subject: "My course is as plain as a turnpiked road. It is marked out by the Constitution. There is no doubt which way to go."

When Lincoln was inducted into the office of President, the opening feature of his inaugural address was: "I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the union of these States is perpetual. I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States." When the people heard these words, they were inspired and believed in him.

If there is one who would ignore the ideals of our America or who would remove the ancient landmarks that were set by our fathers, let him seek to destroy constitutional government. I know of no surer course of destruction of the Republic than this. The Constitution is the anchor which holds the Ship of State secure against the threshing winds of time. Its strength is reflected in the respect that the people have for law, and in the support that they give to the orderly processes of government. This belief permeated every fibre of the being of Lincoln. In support of it, he said:

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher of his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. Let reverence for the law be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in the schools, in the seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, in spelling books, and in almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpits, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in the courts of justice. Let it become the political religion of the nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues, and colors and conditions sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

There was never a time in the history of the nation when there was greater need than now for an impartial adherence to the edicts of law and order. Upon nearly every hand we see the disregard in which the law is held by the people of all classes and conditions. I cannot account for this, unless it be that the multiplicity and complexity of our laws have become so pronounced that on the one hand it is impossible for the people to comprehend their meaning, and on the other hand it is impossible

for the officers of state to enforce them. If this is true, and I believe it to be so, it is high time that legislative bodies should retrench from their law-making proclivities. [Applause.]

A conscientious understanding of the Constitution is well-nigh futile with the continual enactment of laws, some of which are a distinct departure from the meaning and purposes of the Constitution while others serve only to increase the number of employees of the State. If we can get away from this tendency, we will have taken the first step towards lower taxes, better law enforcement, and a higher respect for law. Also, there will be less reason for the existence of professional politicians and demagogues, with their obnoxious political nostrums that are warranted to cure every ill to which society falls heir.

Dangerous as is the disrespect for laws that are intended to influence the social and moral welfare of the people, it is even more hazardous to the national welfare that the parties to industrial disputes should disregard the law and seek to force their issues by direct action. When the parties to any suit in which the public interest is involved refuse to bring their case into court to be decided by judge or jury, the violations of the rights of life and property that ensue are immediately subversive of orderly government and strike at the very foundations of the Republic.

Within a six months' period we have had two striking illustrations of the disastrous effects that follow violations of the principles of law and order. One of these took place at Herrin, Illinois, and more recently another occurred in certain sections of Arkansas. Both of these were the outgrowth of industrial strife. In the one instance, the workers attempted to thwart the effort of the mine owners to operate their plants, and a large number of human lives was sacrificed in the endeavor. In the other instance, the citizens of the community sought arbitrarily to punish certain striking railroad employees, and here again the sacrifice of human life was taken as a toll against sabotage and destruction of property.

Both of these acts were in direct violation of the orderly processes of government and serve to prove the results that inevitably follow after a disrespect for law. The one effective way of preventing such incipient acts of violence is for public officials to

see that the law is enforced vigorously and impartially. In this, I hold that there is no end to which a duly constituted law enforcement official may not go, and the official who does less than this violates his oath of office. [Applause.]

Lincoln said in his day: "In a choice of evils, war may not always be the worst. Still, I would do all in my power to avert it, except to neglect a constitutional duty." Had Lincoln taken any other position than this, and had he attempted to temporize with a situation that was in direct violation of the purposes of the Constitution, it is highly probable that the nation would have been dismantled and the strength of the Republic destroyed. Conditions are not the same to-day as they were then, but the principles of government that he enforced are precisely the same. The government must be strong enough in its position of authority to enforce the law and to punish every violator of the law. To do less than this is to invite national decay.

As between the contending factions in industrial disputes, Lincoln had the vision by which the remedy may be found for our present-day troubles. He believed in labor as the pursuit to which the life of every normal man is ordained. There are few questions to which he made more frequent reference than he did to this. Upon one occasion he addressed a note to Major Ramsey, as follows: "My dear Sir: The lady bearer of this says she has two sons who want to work. Set them at it, if possible. Wanting to work is so rare a want, that it should be encouraged." Conditions have not changed much in sixty years. [Laughter.] In another instance he said: "If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are. If you do not intend to go to work, you cannot get along anywhere." And again he said: "I am always for the man who wishes to work."

As between the interests of property and labor, he expressed this wise opinion: "I take it that it is best for all to leave every man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man getting rich, it would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else. When one starts poor as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition; he knows that there is no fixed

condition of labor for his whole life. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer mauling rails, at work on a life-boat—just what might happen to any poor man's son. I want every man to have a chance."

The application of these simple laws of personal conduct would be sufficient in themselves to-day to bring the solution to every recurring difference between employer and employee. There must be no violation of the right of a man to work. This right is inherent in the Constitution. It must not be abridged, lest men dictate by their own selfish interests not only the conditions under which they shall work, but the pay that they shall receive. This would create an intolerable condition. The nation is suffering now from a too high level of wages. At a time when there is need for the greatest economy of production as a means towards removing the disparity in exchange value that exists between the raw products of the farm and the finished products of the factory, it is a striking fact, borne out by dependable figures, that the established scale of wages to-day will buy more commodities than at any previous time on record.

Agriculture is the nation's basic industry, and upon the prosperity of the farmer depends the ultimate prosperity of the people who are engaged in every other line of endeavor. So long as this high scale of wages continues, the farmer will have to bear a burden that is economically unsound, and the delayed return of post-war readjustment will increase the hardships upon all. And I may say to you, my friends, that we of the Middle West are feeling the impress of that very condition to-day. The disparity in exchange value between the articles that are manufactured here and the things that are produced by the farmers in the Middle West and exchanged for your manufactured articles is too great, and I recognize as the first item that enters into this question of price or economy is the enormous scale of wages that is being paid.

The farmer, too, is doing his utmost to rehabilitate the nation and bring about a revival of normal prosperity. He is making splendid progress, and his lot is not nearly so hard as it has been at many other times in the past. But there is not yet a complete equality between him in his labors and those who toil in other lines. A simple application of the precepts of our nat-

ional patron saint would accomplish wonders in remedying this condition.

Lincoln was a great man, but he was not conscious of it. He was great because he had the power of correct analyses of human problems and the force of character to support his beliefs. He was partisan, the first great Republican, and he had much to do with the origin of this party, but he was in no sense a politician. Were he living to-day, he would be ashamed and chagrined by the political maneuvers of many of those in public life who are ignoring the national welfare in an effort to promote their own selfish interests.

Now, gentlemen, I recognize that this is a Republican organization and you are proud, every one of you, to think upon the things that Lincoln did, the things that Lincoln stood for, and you recognize that Lincoln adhered to the things that are fundamentally sound and true and that have always been the foundation for progress in this country. The greatest era of progress that America ever knew was the fifty years that followed the Civil War. Not all of those years, for some of them were bad years, but on the whole it was the greatest era of progress in our history; and during that period you recall that the people were not resorting to measures political to lift them from their difficulties. They were depending upon themselves, and all they asked from the Government was that they be given equality of opportunity and encouragement to exercise the initiative that they then had.

In these later years there has come to the fore an apparent theory of progress that we must legislate success and prosperity on the people, whether they earn it or not. And I submit to you that it cannot be done. Instead of that we are placing barriers and substantial barriers against progress, and we are striking at the very foundation of this Republic. [Applause.]

Progress, my friends, is not education. Progress is building upon firm and sound foundations, and as we are troubled to-day with the problems that are imposed upon us through this world-wide conflagration, we must recognize the burdens that rest upon us; and they must be borne by you and me, and they can be borne only by us and not alone by the Government.

The Government is only a medium through which we may

exercise our initiative. When I think of our national administration I recognize that not since the time of Lincoln has any administration ever come into the White House to find itself confronted with such troublous and perplexing problems as have confronted our present President of the United States [applause]; and I say, and I believe that you agree with me, that that great mind in the White House, unmoved by the blare of trumpets, constantly adhering to fundamental principles, is hewing away on these national problems along the right line. Should he appeal to mere sentiment? Should he seek merely to be popular? Should he adopt the practices of political expediency? No! A thousand times, No! I do not know whether he shall be re-nominated; I think he will. I don't know whether the Republican party will win in the next campaign. But so far as I am concerned, that does not trouble me nearly as much as it troubles me whether the Republican party is going to adhere to sound principles and struggle and fight for them, even though they lose the election, rather than to submit to things that must certainly thwart the ultimate purpose that we would attain. [Applause.]

You look to the West, and you think of a country, perhaps, that is torn with dissension and dissatisfaction, but I will say to you that you have painted before you a picture that is untrue; for, while we have suffered some conditions in Nebraska that have been uncomfortable, even as young a man as I am can recall the conditions of the early '90s when conditions were so much worse that there is no comparison between then and now. Our farmers have turned the corner and they are on their way again. Their agricultural products have increased in value fifteen per cent in the last few months, and while we feel there is some injustice there, it is not to the extent that we would array that great Central West from which Lincoln came against any other section of this country. [Applause.]

We know the things for which Lincoln struggled. We know that Lincoln realized the bond of interdependence that existed between the North and the South, and he recognized it to the extent that he would call upon the people of this country to give them support in order that unity of action might obtain. And it was given. And that is the reason why you and I sit comfortably about this banquet board to-night and praise our America.

For us to attempt to divide our country into sections, or classes, or creeds would be as destructive of the purpose of America as she was founded by our fathers as would have been the division of the North and the South. And whoever attempts to speak against the West in terms that would cause you to believe that there is a class or section conscience there that would hold themselves out against you, does not know whereof he speaks. For, in times of this nation's trouble, all sections of the nation arose as a single man and we are just as proud of them all as we are proud of our patriotic Nebraskans.

We need party solidarity. In Lincoln's time he was plagued by those who would subserve the national interests to their own advantage, and President Harding is being plagued by the same thing to-day; not in his cabinet, but in a co-ordinate branch of Government that has just as great responsibility in bringing about the restoration of normal conditions that we need in this country to-day.

I am a partisan, and I believe in party responsibility, and I think that everything that tends away from it is destructive of our Republican form of Government; and therefore I believe that when a party is in power it is the duty of those who have been elected through that party to give their adherence to the principles that have been enunciated for its conduct and which constitute a part of its program. [Applause.]

There is but one way to emulate the life of Lincoln: that is to follow the unselfish and understanding course that he marked out. If we do this, we may yet reverently breathe again the inspiring sentiments and everlasting ideals that were his.

During the short life of Lincoln he inculcated in the hearts of the people a patriotism that endured through the intervening years. The threads of blue and of gray were knit into a complete fabric of national solidarity. Then there was no North, no South, only the bonds of union. How much this has meant to us, we cannot realize now. We only know that the call of national necessity has been heard and answered in every section of the land, and the love of Americans for their America has been measured again in the terms of scarlet that ebbed from the hearts of our choicest sons.

Four years ago I was called to witness the most inspiring sight

that it has been my privilege to view. This was upon the return of our boys from France. A delegation from Nebraska had chartered a little boat and sailed out into the harbor at New York to welcome our victorious Eighty-ninth. The clouds hung heavy over the harbor. Finally a great boat—the Leviathan—emerged from the mists. As it drew towards our little craft, it looked not unlike a great mountain of khaki. Finally, it came near enough so that the boys from home could read the banners, “Welcome Home to America”, “Welcome Home to Nebraska”, “Welcome Home to Friends and Loved Ones”, and a cheer went up that sounded and resounded across the harbor. Then our band played “Home Sweet Home”, and out of that cheering throng there came a stillness as of death. As I looked out across the scene, there stood the Goddess of Liberty, tall and stark in the mists of the morning, and she too seemed to be weeping for the return of her gallant sons.

I do not know, we cannot know, the deeper sentiment that was in the hearts of those men, but I do know that they took up the torch that fell from the hands of the immortal Lincoln and insured for all time that “a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal” can endure. [Applause.]

TOASTMASTER POWERS. I would like to say to the young Governor, in behalf of the Middlesex Club, that if he would like to be Governor of the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts all he has got to do is to take up his residence on her soil. [Applause.]

The next speaker on the list I observe is a Unitarian clergyman. When I used to be active in the affairs of this Club we were a Baptist club, as I remember it [laughter], and we elected as our chaplain the Reverend Ashley Jones who came here each year for a number of years and preached to us the real old Baptist doctrine. It was the doctrine of immersion in those days. I imagine that one of the amendments to the Constitution has probably changed the religion of the Club. [Laughter.] But we all remember with the greatest pleasure the Reverend Ashley Jones. He was a typical Southerner and told his stories in a typical way. And there was one story that he told the third time he came here, the last time I heard him, which has always

remained in my mind. I feel sure the Middlesex Club made an excellent impression on the parson. Do you remember that story he told when he rose to make his last speech before this Club? It ran something like this:

Uncle 'Rastus was sitting on a doorstep and Aunt Chloe was standing in the door. The gate was open and the chickens were going down towards the gate, and Uncle 'Rastus ran down and closed the gate. When he came back Aunt Chloe said, "What fo' you close dat gate? Was you 'fraid those chickens would n't come home?" And he said, "I was afraid they would go home." [Laughter.] And then he concluded by saying: "Whenever I see the gate of the Middlesex Club open, I always come through it because I feel I am coming home." [Laughter.]

Now we have changed our religion, and we have taken up a more liberal religion. I want to say that that is not at all displeasing to me. [Laughter.] My church has always been the Unitarian church,—at least, my wife attends that church. [Laughter.] But I remember in the old days when I wanted to hear a real good sermon I used to go up to what I think they called Unity Church and listen to the Reverend Minot J. Savage, who was one of the great pulpit orators of his day. To-night we have with us his son, who is a clergyman in Worcester, and I take great pleasure now in presenting to you the Reverend Maxwell Savage of Worcester, Massachusetts. [Applause.]

REVEREND MAXWELL SAVAGE

Mr. Chairman:

I am going to trust my watch to the gentleman on my right, and Mr. Farley on my left, because I am going back to Worcester to-night, especially as there is no after-meeting on the lower floor. [Laughter.] Whether you have a room upstairs or not I do not know. [Laughter.] But may I say in beginning that if the chairman to-night lived in Worcester he would not be allowed to have his religion, like his property, in his wife's name. [Laughter.]

Some years ago I gave a series of after-dinner talks, or wandering talks, in the far-off city of Budapest and ever since that time I have wondered why Americans have not adopted that

plan. There was no after-dinner speaking in the literal sense of the word, but as soon as the first course was put on the table they began to call on the speakers. I have spoken through the oysters and the fish, through the fish and the roast, through the roast and the salad, and then people went on eating and listened or not as they pleased; and by the time the meal was over, the speaking was over. It was easier on the listener, and so much easier on the speaker, because here, while you have been eating this goodly meal I have been munching this coarse bread, drinking as much coffee as I could find about me, and not really been able to feast and fill myself as my natural proclivities would lead me to do.

I have no manuscript. Perhaps it is too bad for you that I have not. I have some notes, but I have written them so small that I am afraid I cannot see them, and so I shall have to ask you to bear with me, as my dentist said, for the allotted time which Mr. Coolidge gave me. I notice that, having given me this time, he is not here. [Laughter.]

Now the average minister of course uses his text as a diver uses his springboard very often, to leap from and never to return to. And like a good many speakers, having leaped into the stream of my material I find that I do not swim very well and sometimes, like some swimmers, sink and drown in the midst of ideas that I cannot put into adequate words. But I hope you will not sit and look at me in my drowning condition as a certain longshore farmer living near me in Maine did a few years ago. The farmer ran down to the shore and he noticed a man tip over in a boat out in the lake. He did not pay much attention to him and went into the house, and later on went down to the post office. Somebody said to him, "Well, your nephew was drowned this afternoon," and the man said, "Pshaw! I saw it but I thought it was one of those damned summer boarders." [Laughter.]

I hope you will have more leniency and patience with what I want to talk over with you regarding Lincoln, and I have taken as my text for my speech an idea that came to me out of Stevenson's "Life of Lincoln", a new, one-volume story of his life which is a wonderful book, in which he points out that the great contribution which Lincoln made to government and the activity of

politicians was to show the moral obligation not to use power. This has nothing whatever to do with pacifism. In fact, very much to the contrary. While Lincoln recognized power he never exercised it unless it were for the fulfilling of some moral law. He never resorted to power offhand. He was very slow in using it and he trusted the conscience of the people to work out their problems, rather than to have laws, the power of government, superimposed upon them all the time. And he had little use for the growing popularity to-day of coercion by government.

That perhaps was one of his strongest attributes, and we find it in most of his activities, that patience, that willingness to abide the issue of circumstances, that method of letting people work out the thing for themselves. So that not hesitancy, but that inherent, quiet power of his way, and to not care so much about the outer form of things, showed itself in most of his activities. For instance, I don't know how many lawyers there are here but in his relation to the law he was a poor lawyer in so far as technicalities were concerned. He did not care much about them, but he was interested in law only as it stood to approximate, in the affairs of man, the justice and the will of God. And that is why he said to his fellow lawyers, "Discourage litigation; there will still be enough business to go around." And we know to-day that the best type of lawyer is the man that does not drag litigation into court all the time, but settles quietly and reasonably by the use of the quiet power of conscience on the outside.

The same tendency showed itself in regard to Lincoln in the matter of religion. In the common-sense view of that word, he was not a Christian and did not care for the use of power of churches. And yet there is no doubt about it that nobody on earth since the Nazarene has been so spiritually and so morally Christian in his attitude towards his fellow man. And so he loved, as he approached the problems of his time, to keep in the midst of them with the quiet, inexorable power of the natural force, you might say, plus what a natural force never has, and that is kindness.

Now what are our tendencies to-day, in the midst of our problems? After all, are they not summed up in the word "character"? Have not we attained to a higher-mindedness that

wants things done very quickly indeed, rather than to be patient? Aren't we surprisingly subservient under power to make us do lots of things, forestalling morality and natural growth and education? The impatience and the temper of the time as contrasted with Lincoln's own patience are fully manifest, and you will recall that in his own day they called him "Father Abraham". The grown-up children of his own time, feeling that he had that power, looked upon him as of that rare type of father who exercised such power over his own children. I wish I had it over my own boys, that quiet power to command that can bring the right sort of results.

I noticed in the Middlesex Creed which was sent to me one or two articles of faith, and hope, and perhaps of charity, that I want to speak about in passing to-night, speaking of what seems to me is the Lincolnian idea and what our tendency is to-day.

I noted, as one article of your creed, the belief in a triumphant peace. That article must have been written some time ago for there was no triumph, and therefore there is no peace. I know of no situation in history better described by the gentle sarcasm of Jeremiah than the present situation. You will remember that Jeremiah said: "For they have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly by crying 'peace, peace', when there is no peace."

I know it is not the popular church point of view at all, and yet under similar circumstances to those a few years ago it was the Lincolnian point of view, when Lincoln saw that the moral obligation not to use power began only after victory. We did not see that. The psychology of the situation seems to me to be thus summed up in a simple crude illustration out of ordinary life. It happens in my church in Worcester there are about fifty Boy Scouts. Two of those small devils about twelve years of age have been picking on each other for the last six or seven months. They have been scrapping whenever they came within a few feet of each other. The Scoutmaster reported it to me, and I took two pairs of boxing gloves over there two months ago. And we settled it. [Applause.] Nobody hurt,—you know how a small boy fights, with the edge of his wrists more than he does with strong fist jabs. But one boy was licked. I saw to it, also, that the other boy was licked by still another boy,

to avoid his being too cocky. But the relationship between those two boys since the inter-relationship of the two was definitely settled has been that of peace, happiness, and even that of good will.

A few years ago neither in the northwest of Europe nor in the southeast did we settle definitely the question, and the result is still cynicism, bitterness, and hate because no nation knows just what its relation to the other nation should be. Now under similar circumstances Abraham Lincoln was importuned by pacifists and by men believing in wonderfully fine ideals, which are good in themselves but which grown-up children have no more reached than those boys in my church have reached. Lincoln was importuned to declare an armistice before the war was finished, and his reply was simply to tell General Grant to hold no conferences with General Lee unless it be for the capitulation of his army. In those dark days in the latter part of the Civil War Lincoln was maligned, cursed by pacifists, cursed by Horace Greeley, and yet he nailed his colors and he won. And he destroyed the ideals, and then having destroyed those ideals, in victory there was no vindictiveness in his heart or mind, but it was victory, not vindictive but decisive. And I cannot help but wonder in these days if there would not have been better peace, better good-will and fewer of these terrific problems, if we had had a decision. If we had followed out the ideal which Lincoln followed to the bitter and then to the sweet and put an end to indecision.

Lincoln was primarily a Nationalist, you remember. He believed that loyalty, like charity, begins at home, and that then it extends as far and wide as man is capable of having it go,—and no further. Some people whose ideals are so broad,—I am always a little suspicious of those people who begin by saying that they love all humanity—I wonder if they love their next-door neighbor. I remember some years ago taking a canoe down the Colorado River from the Grand Canyon to Mexico, where the river came down with a great flood and broke through the bank and stretched all over the country. We went right from the Grand Canyon to Yuma and down below there we found the river thirty-six miles wide and two inches and a half deep. [Laughter.]

Now certain people who broadcast their sympathies are a good deal like that river below Yuma. Lincoln was more like the river above Yuma, and yet remember,—and I know I tread on thin ice in the Middlesex Club—he was ethically an internationalist. He knew as he remarked more than once—I will not take the time to quote it—that the ethics of the people extend far beyond the boundaries of any one country; and although it is utterly unfair to put into the mouth of a man not living what you think he would say, still I feel this much, that he would have no sympathy with a certain type of mind in this country to-day that is well illustrated in its attitude of non-responsibility, of non-ethical interest in world affairs for this country, by my three-year-old son.

The other day I came home and being late in the afternoon I went into the dining room, and there in the middle of the great rug was this little fellow down on his knees and his elbows, his face buried in his two small fat hands. He usually greets me, but he did not move. And I turned to the nurse and said, "What is he doing?" I had walked all around him, and made more or less noise. And she said, "He is hiding." And there he was hiding right in the middle of the floor. That is cunning in him, and lovable, but if my twelve-year-old boy did it I would send for the alienist. And yet certain people in this country think that this country can take that position, and I don't believe ethically it possibly can.

Another article of your creed: "Stop the insidious growth of bureaucratic government and put an end to petty tyranny of manifold commissions." And another: "Having fought to rid the world of Prussianism, let us not Prussianize ourselves." Now let us define Prussianism. It is the clattering of the sword, the jangling of arms. To me that is merely one small outward manifestation of an inner reality, which is diametrically opposed to the reality of the Lincolnian idea and what I have always supposed to be the American idea. The Prussian idea is the superimposing of the power of Government, every day and in every way, on the individual. Now the average modern German that I have met over there, the average modern Russian that I have read about, and I have met a few of them, have no conception of responsible individual liberty coexistent with a free

social order. That is not their fault, but they are not our model or our pattern. And yet, when I look about this country to-day I sometimes wonder if they are not becoming our model.

This whole question, and it is a serious one, not for funny stories after dinner, this whole subject it seems to me is a matter as to where you find your sanctions for conduct, and as to where you are going to touch the people—and particularly your young people in this country—as to where they are to find their sanctions for conduct.

Look over history. Long ago it was the church. You could put your conscience in the care of the church and there you found your sanctions for conduct. Read the book of Benjamin and see how he carried that out. At another time it was the State. And then I learned history after this fashion, that beginning at about the Reformation, it began to be the individual that you found your sanctions for, and the conduct within yourself, not in any outside group, either religious or civic; and I wonder where that idea is going to, to-day, in this country.

We look around and see that many people have lost those sanctions for conscience, and they are milling at night. I have seen the animals mill at night, when men had to ride around to keep them quiet, not knowing what would come next. And so thousands of people are milling to-day. They have lost their old artificial sanctions of conduct, and they don't realize that the sanctions for conduct which Lincoln found are in the nature of things and in the nature of man. So we see many people to-day living out the logic of Paul,—Let us eat, drink, and be merry, because after all there are no real sanctions for the great ideals. And you find thousands and thousands of other people,—I call them trellis people. They have no stalk of their town, they are like a vine, they have to have some support. They have never grown any big roots or any strong trunk, so that they can stand on their own hind legs. These people are all about us to-day. These people are forever organizing, forever asking for association, forever seeking to put crutches, moral and civic crutches, under the shoulders of the people of the day.

Lincoln was right, it seems to me, in saying that the State had the right to do so and so, as long as it did not run afoul of the charter of liberties. And he asked, as you will remember,

"Must a government be too strong for the liberties of its people?" And the answer to-day, resounding all over this country is, "Yes." A great number of people that I run across, as I wander over this country, seem to put their hope of salvation in legislation. By shifting the affairs of men from the realm of conscience, where Lincoln would have left them, over into the realm of law, they have put their hope of salvation in legislation. And you and I know very well that whenever anything becomes a law in this country, how we treat it. [Laughter.] Conscience is no longer to be found.

This hurry, this impatience, this wanting to have things done overnight reminds you of Lincoln's remark to his law partner: "Billy, you are not to be rampant and excited." And these people who seek to lead us by the nose in the way of morals and education and all the rest, it seems to me are too rampant, too excitable. I find them in the pulpit, men aptly described by a friend of mine as amateur economists; I find them among politicians, I find them among both professional and amateur reformers. There is a parable that many a reformer to-day could well read and learn, a legend, that represents a statesman coming to the old philosopher, Confucius, and asking him the best system of government. And the statesman said to Confucius, "Do you see my teeth?" And Confucius replied, "You no longer have any." And the statesman said, "Can you see my tongue?" And Confucius replied, "Naturally, because you are talking with it." "So, you see," said Li Hung Chang, "my teeth which were hard are gone, while my tongue which was soft survived." Your rigid laws which were substantial will tumble. Your modern philosophy will survive.

For several years I was chairman of the Case Committee of the Associated Charities, of Louisville, Kentucky, the last Court of Appeals in many cases. I had a very hard case there which had been on the books of the Charities for years. A young visitor came one day and said that she would like to do some work in charity, so I gave her this very hard case. She went to them down the dark alley, and knocked on the door of the negro shack, and there stood a broad-shouldered woman, a worthless husband, and seventeen pickaninnies, and said to her, "Mandy, I have come to put you on your feet." And Mandy,

with native wit, said, "Yes, Miss, but who is going to keep me there?" [Laughter.] She had been put on her feet about fifteen times, had grown no leg muscles and was unable to stand on her own feet. And so this superimposing of all sorts of laws for our manners and morals, and our way of running ourselves, is putting us on our feet perhaps, but are we going to stay there, and who will keep us there? Nobody, according to Lincoln or according to the American way, excepting ourselves, by the slower process of education from the inside out towards the circumference. And yet, as I say, we run about in a hurry seeking to establish a sort of group morality, which I beg you to realize would always undermine the individual morality.

My time is almost up, but may I say that with all this going on, with this tendency to the wholesale rather than the enduring retail work which is the work that lasts, with this tendency to get well quick and get rich quick, to get government quick, to get civic righteousness quick, we need to realize, looking over history and the method of Lincoln, that the long-time game has always been the moral game, it has always been the game that endures. So we have all these problems that you gentlemen know of, as well as I do, and it seems a pity to me at times that the foreground of life at such a time as this is cluttered with all sorts of people who feel that they must express their own souls, whether their souls are worth expressing or not, people that have mental adenoids, you might say, rather than brains, and that are thinking with their circulation rather than their brains. People are putting in the place of reason, the impulse, with the idea that so long as you assert yourself, whether it is worth anything or not, you are contributing something to society. So we see these people, some with minds so shut that no idea can get in and some with minds so open that nothing can stay in; and it seems to me in closing that it might be wise for us, that it might be wise for any party that seeks to carry on the reins of government wisely in this country, to insist as the good Governor says, no matter what it costs, upon more self-direction, more self-responsibility, and more self-control rather than resort to this blind Prussian institutionalizing of every single thing in our midst.

You are not going to root out evils, you are not going to plant

the good wheat, merely by changing the outward form. Men can only slowly and surely be converted to any real sense of appreciation, to hold dear and appreciate individual liberty, coexistent with ethical social order, as Lincoln appreciated it and held it, whose loyalty to it began at home and became more than national. You cannot force, you cannot forestall the growth of citizenship, but you can remove the obstacles and trust the people to grow to the occasion as Lincoln did. Problems now and then are not problems of external force, but of inner ideas, and of character; and there is no better character for us to follow than Lincoln who was obedient all his days, no matter what excitement might have been around him, to the slow, divine growth of nature. So, let us remember, that he is free who is willingly followed by free men. He is free who is followed by free men, men who are free politically and morally and are of their own conscience glad and free to serve and to obey. [Applause.]

TOASTMASTER POWERS. I feel sure, gentlemen, that you would not forgive me if I did not give you an opportunity to hear a few words from a great soldier. The Inspector General of our Army in France, a soldier who has been decorated in many orders, and who has come to Massachusetts to this Area as the commander of this territory in which we live. And so I present to you for a few words, Major General André Brewster, of the United States Army. [Applause.]

MAJOR GENERAL ANDRÉ BREWSTER, U.S.A.

Mr. Toastmaster, Gentlemen of the Middlesex Club:

I feel that I am in the house of my friends. I have eaten their salt, and the words that can best come from me are from the bottom of my heart rather than the top of my head. But my head and heart lines cross and give birth to expressions of great gratitude and appreciation of your kind hospitality and your very kind reception, and, Mr. Toastmaster, your very kind and gracious words in introducing me.

After the eloquent addresses you have heard to-night you will not expect many words from a simple soldier, who is not used to speaking. There are probably two hundred men present here who make very good speeches, and I can say with great humility

I would rather try to be guided in action and in conduct by the utterances of our immortal Lincoln than to make a futile attempt to imitate him in oratory.

I feel, gentlemen, that the Army is in the hands of its friends, Republican or Democratic, and what you have done to us, first with one hand and then the other, leaves very little of us anyhow. [Laughter.] I thank you again for your great kindness to me. [Applause.]

TOASTMASTER POWERS. Gentlemen, that closes the ceremonies. I wish you all good-night. I want to say to you that if any of your presiding officers are ill, or an accident happens to any of them in the next forty years, just send for me. [Applause.]



